

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!"

ORGANIZE RIGHT

ORGANIZE YOUR MIGHT

W EMANCIPATION W
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Industrial Worker

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Whole Number 105

AGITATE—EDUCATE—ORGANIZE—FIGHT FOR THE EIGHT HOUR DAY

PRIEST AIDS THE BOSS

TELEPHONE COMPANY FEARS INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM—BE LOYAL TO COMPANY, SAYS BOSS.

CHICAGO TELEPHONE COMPANY
General Office, 203 Washington Street,
Chicago, March 2nd, 1911.

To the Telephone Operators of Chicago:
A call is being sent to you to attend a meeting tonight to organize a union. It asks you to stand together and says the linemen and others now out on strike will "stick with you."

Not one of the union organizers' names in this notice has ever visited a telephone exchange or knows about your work. We ask you to stand together as loyal employees and continue in your work of giving telephone service to the city of Chicago.

We know of no grievance now existing, but if you have any cause for complaint we will consider it with you at any time, and assure you of fair and liberal treatment.

We ask you at this time to refrain from meeting with agitators. Do not be misled by false statements. You are rendering a service necessary to the entire public and the company feels certain that you will be faithful to your trust.

H. N. FOSTER,
Supt. of Traffic.
N. ANDERSON,
Traffic Chief.

Approved:
A. S. HIBBARD, General Manager.
S. J. LARNED, General Supt.

Chicago, March 1, 1911.

To Our Plant and Traffic Forces:

In order to properly conduct the operations of the telephone exchange in Chicago, the company must have the sole allegiance of all its employees. It has no quarrel with union labor and has for years employed union labor to a considerable extent on construction work, but it has not and cannot do so with reference to the handling of the telephone traffic in Chicago, which it must always keep within its own control.

When it was found that efforts were being made to unionize all of the men in all of the offices, notice was given to the repair men and to all inside men in the outlying offices, that such organization was against the interests of the company and against their interests, and they were instructed not to join such a combination. About fifteen men, in spite of these instructions, secretly joined the union and they at once engaged actively in the effort to unionize the remainder. These men, in accordance with the previous notification, were discharged and their places filled, and the downtown men who had been active in the effort to unionize the others were also let out.

The demand was made by the union officials that the company immediately restore all of these men and withdraw its objection to unionizing the entire force in the city. The company could not properly carry on its business under these conditions and so expressed itself and as a consequence the officers of the union called a strike. As a result of this a number of repair men, linemen and installers left our employ. It was agreed that there was no issue with the company about wages or conditions of labor, but only the demand that the entire force should be unionized. This arbitrary action itself shows the impossibility of conducting our business under full union control in which a walkout like the present would completely shut down the telephone business in the city.

The strikers or their sympathizers immediately began cutting cables of the company and endeavoring to interfere with its service. They are picketing our offices and endeavoring in many ways to induce operators and other employees to leave their posts. The company does not know of a single grievance existing on the part of any of its employees. It has endeavored to treat all of them considerately and as liberally as its income from telephone service permits.

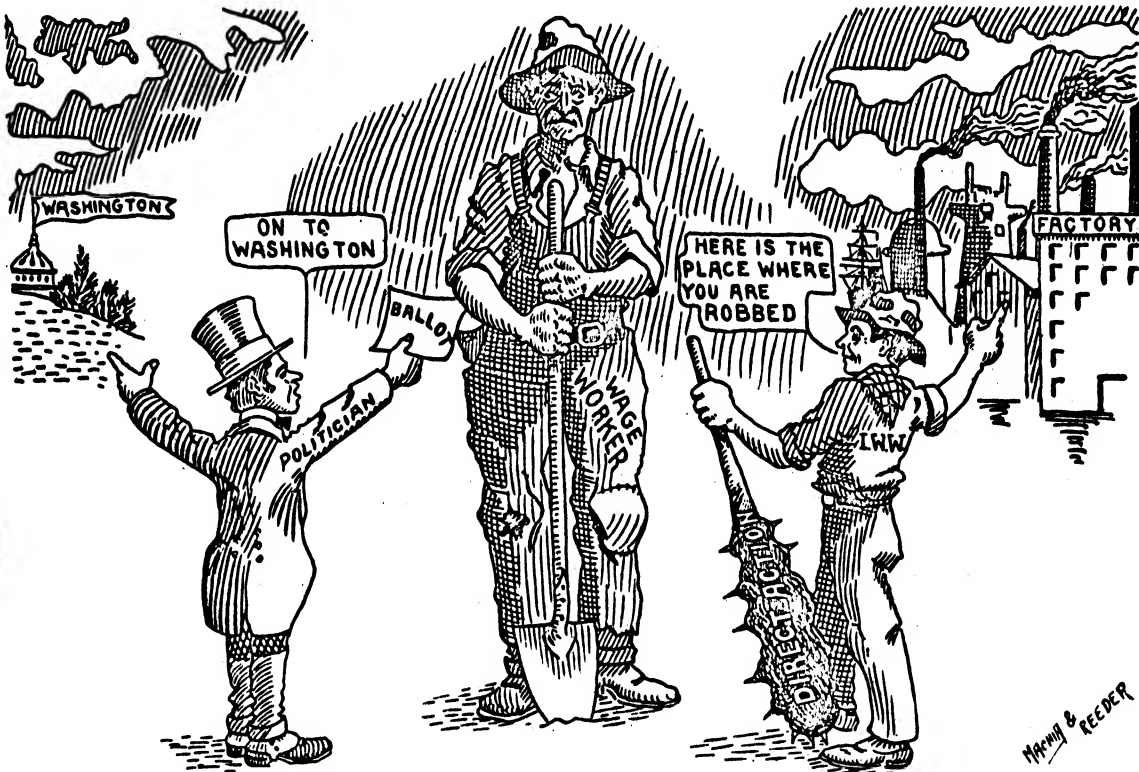
Our employees do better work for themselves and the public in working together as a unit, loyal to the company and its interests, and they should not be dominated by outside influences. Our employees should not be disturbed by untruthful rumors or threats. The present misunderstanding with a small number of our men does not warrant any disturbance in the relations which now exist between us and our other employees in the city.

Statements have been made that on a settlement with the union, non-union employees will

PARLIAMENTARIANISM

[WHICH?]

DIRECT ACTION



ORGANIZE ON THE JOB WHERE YOU ARE ROBBED

MASTER CLASS IS SCARED

REVOLUTION THREATENS FRANCE. THE MASTER CLASS IS FRIGHTENED—FRENCH WORKERS LEAD IN ORGANIZATION.

(Under the heading, "Is a New Revolution Threatened in France?" a syndicated article by Frederick Burlingham was recently published in the Sunday edition of some of the leading newspapers. It appeared in the Denver Republican, an ultra-conservative sheet, having but slight circulation among wage-workers. The copyright laws preclude the possibility of producing the entire article without inviting damage suit, so I am adapting it to my own language, not hesitating, however, to use many parts precisely as they appear in the original.)

Is France really on the verge of a new revolution? This question is agitating France since the great railway strike, when the government ordered out the troops and mobilized the railway employees under army regulations. Naturally among forty million people there are divergent views as to what may happen tomorrow or next day. Royalists, republicans, socialists, anarchists, all are putting forth their ideas with courage and more or less dexterity.

That the government is face to face with a serious revolutionary plot to overthrow the republic is the official view of the situation as expressed by M. Briand in the chamber of deputies.

Gustave Herve, who is now serving a four years' sentence for articles published in La Guerre Social (the Social War) has been placed in solitary confinement; a number of leading syndicalists are still in jail, and Peter Pataud, chief of the union of electricians, has fled to Belgium to escape a warrant. For the moment the revolt is crushed.

Those who think the matter ended are unaware that the very silence is ominous. By employing violence the government has alienated itself from the "progressive" movement, which will be heard from again in a short time. Whether the movement develops along legal and orderly lines or breaks out in revolutionary violence remains to be seen.

Many persons think that the government made a tactical blunder in forcing military service on the strikers and then ordering them as soldiers, under severe penalties for disobedience, to return to work. The government has earned the hatred of the entire working population by taking sides in a dispute between the Northern Railway, owned privately and directed by the Rothschilds, and the employees in revolt, asking \$1 per day from the richest international bankers in the world. The army has been given cause for further discontent and are beginning to realize that they do not exist to repel foreign invasion, as glorious tradition has it, but are used as a band of armed Pinkertons to protect the property of the Rothschild family, the famous bankers, who in France are French, in Germany Germans, and in Great Britain Englishmen. (And in the United States Americans.) One of the soldiers, a labor unionist, was sentenced to six months in jail for refusing to march against his fellow workers, and even the most violent revolutionaries do not ask for better anti-military propaganda than this.

In France there are no longer any pleasant illusions about peace and co-operation between the capitalists and the workers. A class war is being waged and both sides are using every means to gain the ascendancy. Both are organized and acting more or less in secret.

The "money trust" in France controls the newspapers and stifles criticism. Allied with it are the industrial employers, who are prepared to demand the same recognition from M. Briand as was given to the Rothschilds. The big steamship companies are preparing, secretly, to insist that the government furnish scabs to break the next strike of the sailors and dockers. If a marine transportation strike can be interfered with "on the ground of public interest" the same reason will exist to mobilize the bakers in case they strike; the butchers, and, in fact, the whole industrial army down to the grave diggers, for bread makers and cemetery workers are just as important in their way to the social system as the men who run the railroads or steamships.

The labor leaders know these plans and are fully prepared to meet force with force. Many persons believe that the employers are, figuratively speaking, playing with dynamite, and if they do not desist and seek a working basis of agreement the revolution is only a question of time. Serious men believe the time will be short. Pataud, "King of the Electricians," who, it will be remembered, not long ago plunged Paris into darkness, says the dance

FOSTER REPLIES TO ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

THE SOCIALIST AND SYNDICALIST MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE.

Politicalism or Direct Action—Jobs for the Politicians.

In the January number of the "International Socialist Review," in an article entitled "How to Kick," Mr. Robert Rives La Monte sketches a program of action that the American workers must adopt if they are to achieve their economic emancipation. His theory is the well-known one of combined political and direct action. Whilst organizing and using in our daily struggles "such unions as the W. F. of M." we must also pay our dues into the Socialist Party and vote its ticket.

Mr. La Monte lays much stress on the necessity for the development of what he calls the "New Unionism," but which is known in France, its birth place, as "Syndicalism." He considers the condition of the workers as "indeed hopeless" if they don't develop strong fighting genius of this Syndicalist character; unions "that use all their weapons at once" and which in aim, form and tactics are radically different from the conservative A. F. of L. trades unions. Political action of itself, however revolutionary or extensive it may be, can accomplish but little if not backed by real economic power, he tells us. Our economic might must be organized into this modern and potent form of labor organization. However, he hastens to assure us that these Syndicalist unions by themselves cannot accomplish the "miracle" of overthrowing capitalism, nor do they aim to try it alone. They must assist and be assisted by the Socialist Party. The working class direct action and political action organizations must go shoulder to shoulder together to the assault of capitalism. On this condition alone is success assured.

To lend weight to his theory and to illustrate the beneficial effects of this political-economic co-operation, Mr. La Monte cites French labor history as follows:

"In France, where 'New Unionism' has reached its highest development, the political movement, the Socialist Party, preceded it, and prepared the ground for it, and was fortunately strong enough to give it much necessary protection in its early years."

American Socialists, who will form the bulk of the readers of Mr. La Monte's article, are noted chiefly for their gullibility and unsophistication when the subject of Socialism is in question. With them the expression "The Socialist Party" is one to conjure by. It covers a multitude of sins oftentimes. The "revolutionary" farmer in Kansas, the "class conscious" layer in Kalamazoo, the "proletarian" millionaire in New York, the disfranchised worker in the West—Socialists all—how their hearts beat in glad union when they learn of some new and beneficent ex-

plot of "The Socialist Party." What matter what country it occurs in or what the nature of the Socialist Party is that performs it, or even if it ever occurred at all. They will never investigate. Suffice it for some one to say that one of the great international family of "The Socialist Parties" has done such or such a noble act. Only a vandal or iconoclastic intellectual would be sacrilegious enough to doubt it, and to tear the veil from the beloved "The Socialist Party" in question and find out the facts. Therefore, when Mr. La Monte makes his statements about the French, "The Socialist Party" having "prepared the ground for" and given "much necessary protection to" the redeeming Syndicalism and also broadly hints (though he would hardly dare say so) that the Socialist Party and Syndicalist organizations still continue to preserve the former fond relations, he will be implicitly believed by the faithful. Such good deeds on the part of "The Socialist Party" are perfectly natural. However, being long since classed amongst the heathen, I will uncover for a few moments the clay feet of this French "The Socialist Party" idol and show the incorrectness of Mr. La Monte's statements and inferences.

THE SOCIALIST PARTIES

The French Socialist Party was organized in 1879 at the congress of the National Federation of Syndicates (local labor unions). Two years later it split into two factions and these quickly divided themselves into still more factions, or "parties." Some of these "parties" were the Guesdists, Broussists, Allemanists, Blanquists, Millerandists, Jaurests. They represented every shade of thought in the Socialist political rainbow from the rank and file opportunism to the most impossible impossibilism. They waged an incessant warfare on each other for years. All naturally sought the support of the syndicates and these for about 10 years reflected all the quarrels of the politicians. Many, torn by these dissensions, disappeared, others falling under the control of some "party" were either turned into voting machines or "study clubs."

But the great mass of the syndicates, weakened by the incessant political dissensions, gradually developed and insisted on a policy of "No politics in the union." Some seven of these independent and fighting Socialist Parties were tinkered together into the present nondescript Socialist Party in 1905, nine years after the formation of the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.).

Mr. La Monte's "The Socialist Party" during the "early years" of syndicalism, therefore resolves itself into a sort of hash of "Socialist Parties," which not only didn't directly aid in the development of the budding labor movement, but distinctly retarded it. They were too busy helping themselves to waste time helping the syndicates.

SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE

The later neutrality policy of the syndicates toward political action was very unpopular with politicians. The International Socialist Congress of London in 1896 illustrates the latter's attitude towards it. The French Socialist deputies (congressmen) attended the congress with no other credentials than their deputies' cards. The syndicates also sent delegates. To whip the French syndicates into the political line, Millerand, Jaures, Guesde, Gerault Richard Viviana and other prominent Socialists proposed that all neutralist syndicates be excluded from the next congress. The motion lost by a vote of 57 to 56. The French syndicate narrowly escaped being "protected" out of the International movement. Many similar instances of opposition to the neutrality policy could be cited. The Socialists' policy, towards the Bourses du Travail also bears witness to the amical relations existing between the political and economic movements during this early period of Syndicalism.

THE SOCIALISTS VS. THE BOURSES DU TRAVAIL.

After the passage of the much discussed "law of 1894," which gave the workers the legal right to organize, (1) a general policy of steering the labor movement was adopted. Many municipalities built fine buildings, subsidized them, and turned them over to the local syndicates to serve as a general headquarters. These ungrateful organizations formed themselves into local unions of syndicates. These unions are commonly known as the title of Bourse du Travail, although this is really the name of their headquarters (labor exchange).

The Bourses are real CLASS UNIONS, including workers of every trade and from their first appearance have been strongly revolutionary. They were the real beginnings of modern syndicalism. They particularly distinguished themselves in the revolt against political domination in the unions. Many municipalities seeing the anti-political viper they were nursing in their bosoms attempted to kill their local Bourses by withdrawing the subsidies or even by closing the Bourses altogether. Emile Pouget says (La Confederation General du Travail, page 14): "It is to be noted that these persecutions are not peculiar to municipalities of reactionary or simply republican opinions, but that the Socialist municipalities have persecuted their Bourses du Travail with the most vigor."

Probably these Socialist tactics should be classed as "giving much necessary protection" to the "New Unionism," as Mr. La Monte puts it.

The popularity of the all-class Bourses in Socialist circles is well evidenced by Georges Sorel—one of Europe's most prominent economists—who, writing in 1896, eleven

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C. H. Axelson, Francis Miller, Charles Scurlock, J. J. Ector, Geo. Speed.

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Every idea gained in a hundred years of slavery remitted.
—Richard Jefferies.

UNITED STATES "BUTTS IN."

That 20,000 soldiers have been ordered to the Mexican border line to be in readiness to jump across and protect the interests of a few American millionaires in case Diaz loses his grip, is the general opinion of any one that has kept tabs on the revolution in Mexico. It has been generally understood that when an American goes to another country, that he goes under the rules and usages of that particular country. It now develops that when he goes to a foreign country to exploit a lot of barefooted peons, that he has the army and navy of the United States behind him in case the poor slaves dare to rebel against the rule of Gold of his American master. Many fools are offering their services in Spokane and other points to the United States army, with the hope that they will have a chance to get into real action and see the blood of slaves flow across the Mexican desert. The worker that will offer his body as a target just to satisfy a lot of murdering American parasites, is so low in the depths of degradation that there are not words yet coined that can begin to picture such depravity. We can understand the Mexican peons fighting for some taste of liberty, for something better than being a peon, for something better than suffer the pain of the lash when he does not produce enough wealth to satisfy his greedy master, but the man that will hire out to fight against such slaves is dirtier than a mangy dog and we hope that if ever there is an exchange of bullets between the Mexican peon and the hired volunteer of this country, that the first ball will find its mark in the degenerate that is anxious to protect the property of a lot of greedy parasites that are about as much use in society as a flea is to a dog. May the revolution be a success and the Mexican slave be given a taste of freedom that will induce him to greater efforts until the bastille of capitalism is swept into hell in Mexico as well as in every other God and Gold cursed land.

THE CONVENTION.

Is your local sending delegates to the convention? It is important that a big convention be held. There is much to do. Many independent organizations will be invited to send representatives to the I. W. W. convention. Send your very best men. Send men and women that are clear-headed and who are thoroughly in earnest in helping to formulate plans that will be to the best interests of the workers everywhere. Those who have done nothing constructive in the last year or tried to do something, leave them at home. Boost for a big convention. The harvest is ripe for the ONE BIG UNION of the workers. See that the result of our agitation is harvested.

THE HARVEST IS RIPE.

Let us reap what we have sown. We have sown the seed of agitation and have carried it into every cross-road and into nearly every town and hamlet in America. There are few people today but what are acquainted with the aims and objects of the I. W. W. Thousands have heard the message of the ONE BIG UNION. Thousands, yes millions, agree that it is the correct form of organization. Wherever we go we hear men saying that "WE HAVE GOT TO HAVE ONE UNION BEFORE WE AMOUNT TO ANYTHING." Thousands of men in the crafts today realize that it is their only salvation. Why have we not clinched all this discontent? Let every man ask himself the question, HAVE I DONE MY DUTY TO MY CLASS? The I. W. W. is the only organization in America that stands for ONE UNION FOR ALL WORKERS. The harvest truly is rotten ripe and the convention in Chicago in May must make such plans that will result in garnering the huge crop of discontent and place it in the bins of the respective industrial departments, where it can be used effectively. Nothing can be accomplished without organization. Make the I. W. W. national convention to be held in Chicago in May a convention that will be more than a mere committee meeting. Let it be a hummer.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

All local unions are requested to send in a weekly statement for publication, dealing with the progress of the local union and the movement in general around your vicinity. The secretary of Local No. 13 writes in, stating that the "Worker" would take better if it dealt more with conditions in the

different coast towns. This is a good suggestion. The "Worker" cannot contain the news if you do not send it in. Make your articles short and to the point, always remembering that there are others that also wish space. This is a good way to keep all the locals informed as to the progress being made by the different locals. What is your local doing? Tell it to the "Worker."

THE LAW OF MURDER.

Listen to the "Dick Militia Bill," approved by the President January 21, 1903:

Sec. 1. "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that the Militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective states, territories, and the District of Columbia, and every male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen."

Sec. 4. "That whenever the United States is invaded, or in danger of invasion from any foreign nation, OR OF REBELLION AGAINST THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES . . . IT SHALL BE LAWFUL FOR THE PRESIDENT TO CALL FORTH FOR A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING NINE MONTHS such members of the militia of the state as he may deem necessary to . . . suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, etc."

This is the LAW. This may be interesting to some one who believes that he is not subject to the CALL TO ARMS any old time the BOSS says so.

Rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States means rebellion against the rule of the boss. The boss owns the government as sure as he owns the slave. When we get ready to rebel it will not be against the government of the boss, but against the tool that the boss owns. The fight will be in the workshop, in the mine, mill and factory. The working class has POWER to do as they like whenever they wake up and take stock of the amount of power they have. They feed the soldier, house and clothe him, and transport him from place to place on the railways. Any time we don't want to work we can leave them at home with their mannnas, where the poor imbeciles belong.

LONDON'S BITTER CRY.

One of England's biggest problems is to provide for great numbers of women and children who are out of work and starving.

They are trying to employ them in London on these terms: Women receive the uniform rate of \$2.50 per week and are supplied with one meal a day, costing 12 cents. If they have children, they receive an additional allowance of 50 cents per week for the first child under 14, 27 cents for the second child, and 25 cents for all others, provided that the entire family shall not receive more than \$4.37 per week.

Really, brethren, this won't do. The test of any civilization is the provision which it makes for the weakest.

The struggle must go on until everybody who is willing to work shall have enough to eat and to wear, comfortable shelter, and at least a little of the joy of life.—Spokane Press.

The struggle must go on until those who produce everything have ALL the joys of life. Yes ALL! If those who produce everything are not entitled to ALL the joys of life, then in all fairness we ask who in the devil is entitled to it? Some parasite probably that does nothing but rob those that do work. When the workers show as much intelligence as a bunch of bees, we will have ALL we produce and ALL the good things of life. You will get just as much as you have FORCE enough to take. That don't mean to talk about it, but to organize INDUSTRIALLY and take it on the job. The man that is not on the job could take nothing, and it's generally the fellow that is not on the job that does the most talking. Fight on the job.

WORSE THAN WAR.

Mr. E. J. Moynihan, a consulting mining engineer of Johannesburg, South Africa, has recently made some fearful exposures concerning the brutal callousness of the Rand mining companies concerning human life. The death rate of the workers—white and black—is simply appalling, but especially so in regard to the latter. For every 1,200 pounds paid in dividends a human life has been sacrificed unnecessarily. In some of the mines one-fifth of the native workers, all young fellows, are constantly in the doctors' hands, and the death rate is as high as 102.3 per thousand. Thirty thousand persons perished in the mines in the five years ending 1909, and 25,000 of these deaths could have been prevented. The death rate in the Rand mines averages more than the death rate in the Boer war. But what is human life in comparison to dividends?—Melbourne Socialist.

The scissorbill that fought for "flag and country" and received a shilling a day (to be made a target of) and received a tin medal for bravery (?) may now wake up to a realization of the fact that he was fighting a battle for the boss. Poor fool.

FAIR EXCHANGE.

Mrs. Malvina Drummond, formerly Mrs. Marshal Field, Jr., of Chicago, has been robbed of \$140,000.00 worth of precious stones from her stateroom while on the way to America from Europe, where she has been lately showing the natives of Europe how easy it is to rob the workers in Free America. The wife of Marshal Field, eh? Heard of a strike there some time ago when a few hundred slaves were asking for more to eat. The boat was stopped and every passenger searched for the plunder. It's wonderful what a lot of "noise" is made when one of these parasites gets robbed, and what a little "squeak" is heard when they are grinding the profits out of the flesh and blood of ill-paid slaves who produce everything. The thief that glomed the pretty stones on the boat has not yet been apprehended. We have a "line on" the thieves that are robbing labor every day, but we cannot get to them yet till we have more organization and intelligence. It will be easy to convict them of having the plunder when we get wised up.

Any errors in the way of not getting receipts for money sent to the "Industrial Worker" or any other matters pertaining to the financial business of the paper, should be taken up with Vincent St. John, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, as well as with the management in Spokane.

Priest Aids Boss

(Continued from Page One.)

lose their positions. No settlement with the union is in contemplation and the company guarantees to its employees that it will not be a party to any transaction that does not fully and permanently protect its employees' interests.

B. E. SUNNY, President.
A. S. HIBBARD, General Mgr.
S. J. LARNED, General Supt.

The following is a copy of telegram received today from the Rev. E. A. Kelly, pastor of St. Ann's Church, 55th and Wentworth Ave., Chicago, Ill., who is in Hot Springs, Ark.: "Telephone Operators of Chicago, care Mrs. Moore."

"I strongly advise you not to meet together for the purpose of organization or strife at this time. Do not allow others to use you or injure your good name in Chicago."

(Signed) REV. FATHER E. A. KELLY. From the foregoing letters and telegram, it is easy to see that the boss, aided by his old-time ally, the priest, is using every effort to head off an attempt to organize all workers in the telephone service into one union.

The fact that the employing class is so frightened at any prospect of the workers organizing is proof enough that it is to the best interest of the workers to organize. What is the boss afraid of? Is he afraid that the workers when organized will ask for less wages and longer hours of labor? Certainly not. If such were the case, he would welcome the advent of the organization and would assist to get such an arrangement in good working shape. The boss is afraid that the workers will want better food, better clothing, less work, more leisure and more wages. This "gab" about being loyal to the boss has been worked to a frazzle. The average worker knows what loyalty to the boss means. It means subservency. It means that no objection must be entered against a system that grinds the life out of the workers while parasites sit back and wait for their dividends. John D. Rockefeller was interrupted while playing golf last week down to Georgia, while a servant handed him a check for over four million dollars, as his share of a dividend which came due on Standard Oil. This was unpaid toil of labor. How long will you meekly stand for it? We hope the workers in the telephone offices in Chicago will not be influenced by this capitalist "bunk" and, while we think of it, we might ask, "What is the 'buck' doing at the Arkansas Hot Springs? Maybe it's only the gout."

AN I. W. W. MAN NEEDS AID

AN APPEAL TO ALL WHO YEARN AND STRIVE FOR A DAY OF FREEDOM.

Comrades and Fellow Workers:

To you, we, your comrades in toil and hope, issue this appeal on behalf of our Comrade, Vincent Buccafiori, who lies in the Raymond street jail of Brooklyn, awaiting his trial and doom for having dared to respond to the true instincts of man in defending his life from the insults and assaults of the man who, not satisfied in being a part controller of our comrade's means of livelihood, sought also to control his actions and thoughts outside of the workshop. Unable to accomplish this by means that would be fair, he became enraged and used his brutal strength.

Vincent Buccafiori, a member of this union, a shoe worker of no mean ability, who had worked in the shop of J. M. Dodd for a long time and was respected and loved by all of his shopmates, was thought well of by Mr. James Wilt, who was foreman of the shop, until Fellow Worker Buccafiori showed the courage and manhood to join a union of his class and become a shop representative for the same, working devotedly for the welfare of his fellow workers. Buccafiori having done this, Mr. Wilt became more and more a merciless driver, wielding his power with arrogance even more over Buccafiori than upon the others who dared to organize in an institution of common defense and for the advancement of workers' interests.

The numerous outrages and insults heaped upon our fellow worker were at last climaxed when on December 1st, 1910, he was assaulted and then discharged from his position. Buccafiori, upon telling his case to the owner of the factory, was re-employed, much to the discomfiture of the foreman, who awaited his first opportunity when the owner of the factory was away and once more discharged Buccafiori, slapping his face and shouting out: "You have reported me to the owner; you have been re-employed by him, but if you don't get out of this shop at once I will throw you out of the window."

The fellow worker went home. The next day he came to the shop to take away his tools and working clothes, and while so doing he was approached by the foreman, who uttered imprecations and curses upon his head, and, unable to satisfy his anger, proceeded to strike Buccafiori in the face, and

THIS IS NO. 103

If this number appears on the yellow label alongside of your name, it means that your subscription expires with this issue. To insure getting the "Worker" continuously you should renew a little in advance as the paper will be immediately stopped when your number appears above.

then slugged him with a blow in the mouth, causing blood to flow. It was at this time that Buccafiori pulled out his revolver and shot the brute in human form, who died some days later.

The fellow worker was arrested, and with all the formalities of capitalist-made laws and attended by its retinues, was indicted for murder.

Within a couple of weeks after the shooting a lockout of the organized shoe workers of 10 shops was proclaimed by the Shoe Manufacturers' Association, in which the shop of J. M. Dodd was also involved, to which the workers replied with a strike.

During the struggle the Shoe Manufacturers' Association worked hard and was able to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the county political officeholders to rush matters, so that if they could have had their way, the trial would have been held amidst the heat and strife of the strike, and who knows, had not the power and influence of the organization and its friends come to the rescue of the fellow worker would by now either be electrocuted or rotting in a filthy dungeon?

Workers of America—men and women! This unknown and yet brave worker is a member of our class; he suffered the same miseries and dreamed the same hopes we all do; he aspired for a better day for all the members of the working class!

While he has languished in prison, his companions of the shoe shops gave heroic battle for 12 weeks to the shoe bosses. They were only beaten after 12 and 13 weeks of struggle, in which the whip of hunger was used most effectively by the employers. They have returned to the shops only defeated for the time being, to work and prepare themselves for another struggle at an opportune occasion, but they have made the shoe bosses pay a heavy price for the miseries and outrages of the past.

The cost to the bosses has been nearly a million dollars as a result of the strike, either in loss of trade, profits and additional expenses in the conduct of the lockout against the members of this organization.

That the manufacturers feel sore and revengeful is but natural. They therefore will bring to bear all the power and influence that money can buy to the end that our fellow worker may not have a fair trial; that he may be sent to the electric chair or to a long term in prison, so that a "lesson" may be taught to all the shoe workers of this district for having dared to openly question the right of the masters to insult, injure and rob slaves without mercy.

Fellow Worker Buccafiori is a member of the rank and file of labor's advance guard; he occupied no lofty position, drew no salary or emoluments from the movement.

Years ago when, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were arrested on trumped up charges and the masters' agents placed upon their banner the watchword of death, "They will never leave Idaho alive," the men and women of labor from one end of the country to the other, from camp to camp and from shop to factory set up a storm of righteous indignation, indignation which was sufficient in the end to force the hand of the employers and after an eventful trial they were given their liberty.

Liberty is as precious and as dear to Fellow Worker Buccafiori as to any one else.

Shall the fact that he is a member of the rank and file be a reason and a bar to him receiving the loyal support of all the thousands of men and women who in the past have done yeoman service to the cause of labor?

Shall it be said and written in the annals of the labor movement that a member of the rank and file was neglected and left to the tender mercies of capitalist courts and hired judges?

We are confident that all the progressive workers as well as all progressive organizations of labor and those in sympathy with the aspirations of the working class will rush to the aid of this brave comrade.

Money is needed to secure able counsel to defend this worker's life and we appeal earnestly to all on his behalf, and we hope sincerely that our appeal will not be in vain, that it will not reach deaf ears and cold hearts.

Contribute liberally. Show your spirit of working class solidarity and devotion in an unmistakable way. They who give quickly—give doubly.

Send for subscription lists to use among your fellow workers in the shops and meeting rooms.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL.

Send all remittances to Charles Linfante, treasurer of the BUCCAFIORI DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Shoe Workers' Industrial Union No. 168, Industrial Workers of the World, 10 Troy Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Sincerely yours, for the cause of a persecuted fellow worker,

JOSEPH J. ETOR,
Chairman of Committee.

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE
Industrial Worker

Master Class Scared

(Continued from Page One.)

has not yet begun and what has gone before has been but the tuning of the fiddles.

The rising tide of revolution everywhere is shown by events in Turkey, Persia, Portugal, and the struggle in England against hereditary privilege. (Spain, Mexico and Japan as well.) These revolutions, however, are a generation late, while in France there is a determined effort to realize the dreams of the present generation. Prince Kropotkin predicts that in case the socialists seize Paris only a few weeks will elapse before revolutionary uprisings follow in Berlin, Vienna, London and St. Petersburg. Owing to the momentous issue at stake the situation is intensely interesting, no matter what view one takes of the controversy.

On the democratic side of the "barricade," as Paul Bourget calls it, are two great parties, the reformists and the revolutionists. Jean Jaures, political director of the daily socialist paper, L'Humanite, and leader of the socialist party in the chamber of deputies, heads the former. He represents the moderate socialist view, which believes in parliamentary action and the establishment of the social democracy by legal evolution. Already the state has a monopoly in matches and tobacco, and has bought one railroad, and Jaures and his party are fighting for an extension of these monopolies until the state eventually controls the production and distribution of all wealth. This is undoubtedly a slow process and costly, as was shown by the purchase of the Western Railway, when the owners with the aid of the politicians, saddled on the public at an enormous price a railroad that is already breaking down. Before it can be termed first class it will have to be rebuilt almost entirely and its rolling stock replaced. Having foisted on the public so much scrap iron at the cost of \$60,000,000, the capitalists made capital of the fact that the state-owned junk won't run. State socialism, therefore, they say, is a failure.

WHAT IS GIVING THE GOVERNMENT CONCERN, HOWEVER, IS THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. Gustave Herve estimates that in case of a general uprising the number of possible strikers would be 8,000,000, and most of these, he declares, are out for revolution, not reform. The truth of this was shown when M. Neil, secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail, a central syndicate of more than 2,500 trade unions, was forced to resign because of his "reformist" ideas, to make room for a revolutionary. And the attitude of the extremists was voiced again recently by Herve, who, when the police turned loose dogs on the strikers, publicly warned the police prefecture that if this occurred again the anarchists would reply with bombs. DOGS HAVE NOT BEEN USED SINCE.

The revolutionists preach "direct action" instead of political action: the general strike as a revolutionary weapon; violence when opposed by violence; and "sabotage" or the wilful damage of property during strikes. Recently, since the government has refused to permit strikers among railroad workers, "sabotage" has taken another turn. Parcels sent by the railroads are accumulating in great confusion and when deliveries are made, instead of getting a carload of coal as ordered, a merchant may receive a cargo of potatoes. The government is experiencing the reality of the old fable that one may lead a horse to water, but cannot make him drink.

Instead of state socialism, the revolutionaries are working to generate sufficient power, so that, at the psychological moment the workers' syndicates will take charge of the factories, warehouses, shops and transportation lines; in fact, all branches of industry, and run these on communistic lines. The scheme to start with is so simple that nothing prevents it being carried out tomorrow except the lack of concerted action. Discipline within the syndicates to prevent chaos is the problem.

Those who think this only an Utopian dream don't know France. Revolution is in the blood of the people and is liable to break out at any time. As a matter of fact, communism has been tried in Paris before, but not on modern scientific lines. Those who believe socialism chimerical should remember that in France at the head of the last government were three avowed socialists and that the present prime minister, M. Briand, arose from the ranks of the radicals. That he has today gone over to the reactionaries does not change matters for the political ladder he rose upon still exists and leads to power.

While revolution today is in the air, not even the leaders of the movement can tell when it will come. Today all Paris may be playing in the sunshine and dreaming only of peace. Suddenly a great industrial crisis may stir the entire nation. One false step, such as the shooting of strikers, may precipitate the great psychological movement and the revolution will rise like a whirlwind.

Workers, why did this article appear? Is it not a warning to the capitalist class? Can you not already see its effects? The reformist element in this country are being praised by the prostituted capitalist press; the reform papers are receiving finances from capitalist sources; Civic Federation influence is everywhere; and vain attempts are being made to blur the lines of the class struggle. Yet there are those who do not heed, but blinded by greed will grind the workers until revolt is forced upon them as the only means of life. The class conscious wage slave must bear the brunt of battle. Reject all reforms that strengthen the powers of the state and prepare for the final revolution. Up with the industrial republic and down with capitalism. The workers alone can emancipate themselves.

Join the I. W. W.

WALKER C. SMITH.

HOW SLAVES ARE BUNCOED

STAND IN WITH THE BOSS SAYS FAKIR—CRAWL ON BENDED KNEES FOR SOMETHING TO EAT—JOIN AN ASSOCIATION THAT HAS DONE NOTHING.

FELLOW CLERK:

The United National Association of Postoffice Clerks again invites you to join the ONLY organization of Postoffice Clerks that has something to offer the individual clerk. This great body of clerks, through its officers, re zealously laboring for the eight-hour day, the thirty days' vacation, the closing of postoffices on Sunday, and the retirement of the superannuated on a non-contributory basis.

To these and many other reforms the U. N. A. P. O. C. are pledging themselves and know that the postoffice clerks as a body are in sympathy with these movements and the organization that has their welfare at heart.

We ask you to join with us and help in the work. Our relief lies with the whole people, not with or through any class of people; we serve them all and we must look to all for improved conditions.

This association believes the postoffice clerks are equal to the task of securing, through their own united efforts, the reforms wanted, and not seek affiliation with outside organizations, which deviation only tends to divide the strength we would have and retard the progress to which each and every clerk is entitled.

The association has stood by the clerks these last dozen years and you know the achievements that are to the credit of its officers during all these years. This is the only organization that has the **ACKNOWLEDGED SUPPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT**; and how can an organization hope to live and accomplish good for its members unless it is **IN HARMONY WITH THE EMPLOYER?**

Therefore, fellow clerks, look to it you join that body of co-workers who have proved in the past that their association stands for all the clerks.

WESTERN ORGANIZATION COM.

The above circular letter has been sent out in the last couple of weeks to all the mail clerks throughout the country, asking them to join this organization known as the United National Association of Postoffice Clerks. This is purely a capitalist organization, endorsed by the boss that issued the "gag" law to government slaves, and has been launched purely to give a few fat positions to a few fakirs. If there is **HARMONY** between the department and the workers in the postoffice service, why the necessity of this organization? The department knows what small wages the employees receive and they also know that there are thousands of them working Sundays free gratis so that the public may get their mail. In Spokane a vote is being taken by a newspaper to see if the public are in favor of the postoffice clerks having a day of rest on Sunday. It is asking a lot for men when it is known that they work without any remuneration at present on Sunday. The following is the "gag" law issued by the postoffice department on January 31, 1902, and still in **FORCE**:

All officers and employees of the United States of every description, serving in or under any of the executive departments, and whether so serving, in or out of Washington, D. C., are hereby forbidden, either directly or indirectly, individually or through association, to solicit an increase of pay, or attempt to influence in their own interest any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its committees, or in anyway, **SAVE THROUGH HEADS OF THE DEPARTMENTS** in or under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the government service.

How is that for American government slavery? It is now easy to see why the fakir stands in with the department. To join an organization that has to beg through a labor fakir to a gang that would issue an order like the above, would be to brand a member a coward and a knave and unworthy of association with decent, respectable slaves.

There is not a more ill-paid class of workers in America than the postoffice clerks, and yet they work for a government that can spend millions of dollars annually for battleships and other murderous weapons that are of no service to any one except a band of leeches that favor penance and have grown rich from the misery of slaves, as we see Americans have done in Mexico, as well as in **FREE(?)** America.

We invite every postoffice employee that comes under this GAG law to study the difference between organized **FORCE** and organized **BEGGING**.

Let me tell you why I am interested in the labor question. Not simply because of the long hours of labor; not simply because of a specific oppression of a class. I sympathize with the sufferers there. But I look upon Christendom with its 300,000,000 of people, 100,000,000 never have enough to eat. Physiologists tell us that this body of ours, unless properly fed, properly developed, fed with rich blood, and carefully nourished, does no justice to the brain. You cannot make a bright or a good man in a starved body. And so this third of the inhabitants of Christendom, who have never had food enough, can never be what they should be.—Wendell Phillips.

What the Locals Are Doing

NOTICE.

Any one knowing the whereabouts of Thos. Smye, will confer a favor by notifying Thos. E. Ptolemy, 911 Connecticut St., Seattle, Wash., or I. W. W. headquarters, 211 Occidental Ave., Seattle, Wash. Important.

THOS. WHITEHEAD,

Sec'y Literature and Organization Committee,

Seattle, Wash.

NOTICE.

To All Secretaries of the I. W. W. Fellow Worker Ed Schneekloth lost his due card, which is paid up in Local No. 245, while on the way to the Fresno free speech fight. All secretaries are requested to keep a lookout for it and notify the secretary of No. 245 if found.

C. R. NEELY,

Sec. No. 245, San Pedro, Cal.

Whereas, it has come to the notice of this local that Fellow Worker F. H. Allison, a member in good standing of Local 432, has been branded by some irresponsible members, of having yellow streaks, etc., in the city of Fresno, and,

Whereas, a charge against any member must be brought before his local in writing. Therefore, be it resolved:

That this Local No. 432 regards Fellow Worker Allison as a good and true member of the I. W. W., and in good standing with this local union and requests him to send to the secretary of this local his address to receive a copy of these resolutions; and be it further

Resolved, that the secretary is instructed to send these resolutions to "Solidarity" and the "Industrial Worker" for publication and that he places the seal of the union thereon.

JNO. MUSSELMAN, Chairman.

A. C. COLE, Recording Secy.

J. H. REYNOLDS, Fin. Sec.

(Seal)

LOGGERS' LOCAL UNION 432.

Members take notice that a special meeting for the purpose of instructing delegates to the national convention will be held on April 9th, when final instructions will be given.

Members not receiving their papers should communicate with the secretary, when the same will be sent on to them.

J. H. REYNOLDS,

Financial Secretary.

A RESOLUTION.

San Francisco, March 9, 1911.
Editor Industrial Worker, P. O. Box 2129, Spokane, Wash.

Fellow Worker: At the last regular business meeting of Local 173, I. W. W., March 7th, I was requested to send you the following for publication:

Moved and seconded that the Pacific Coast locals defray the deficit of the "Industrial Worker" according to per capita per rate of the different locals and that said action be inserted in the "Industrial Worker." Carried.

Moved and seconded that this local endorse and support the action of other labor bodies in the city proposing to condemn the action of the U. S. Government in sending troops to the Mexican border and in other ways harassing the insurrectionists. Carried.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

J. LEBON,

Secretary Local 173, I. W. W., 909 Howard St., San Francisco, Cal.

SEE HOW IT WORKS.

Shelton, Wash., March 14th, 1911.
Editor Industrial Worker:

Fellow Worker: Enclosed find the four yearly sub cards I received tonight. They lasted about half an hour. I never thought I could sell them so soon. Next Sunday I'm going to fire in an order for four more and sell them in the other camps. Every man that has \$3.00 over should do the same and in a short while we would have the worker where we want him. The Scandinavians around here certainly need it, too.

Yours for the I. W. W.,

ARTHUR APPELO,

Camp Del. No. 432.

FROM VANCOUVER.

The labor market here is very well stocked with competing slaves, who all seem to suffer from jobitis. Fifteen hundred more will arrive this week from British ports, in addition to 300 that came last week which will make matters worse.

Fellow Worker Thompson of Seattle is here for a week. His first meeting was held last Sunday night and was well packed, in spite of a big socialist meeting.

We were handicapped, as we could not get a theater holding over 450 and we were compelled to turn hundreds away. Under the circumstances it was very successful and we sold all the "Workers" and a great deal of other literature.

The sentiment here as regards Industrial Unionism seems to be passive, but the pendulum is gradually swinging towards us and the future is bright.

I remain, yours for Industrial Freedom,

AUG. GERRARD,

Cor. Secretary.

A NEW LOCAL.

A new and promising local has been organized by Free Speech fighters at Sacramento, Cal. If business keeps like it is at present, Sacramento local will be in the lead and hard to catch. The secretary of the new local has wired for 300 "Industrial Workers," and all kinds of literature. The secretary of the Sacramento local is D. Dearth, 223 1/2 K street.

REPORT OF THE ASST. EDITOR OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 14, 1911

Receipts.

Received for bundle orders \$55.45
Received for donations 11.00
Received for subs 44.20

Total receipts \$110.65

Expenditures.

Grauman-Walker, on account \$50.00
McDermid Engraving Co., cuts 5.14
Herbert Hodge, drawing 2.75
Northwest Press, receipt books 11.50
Misc. expenses for week ending Mar. 18 2.60
Post office, second class mail 5.00
Fred W. Heslewood, wages week ending March 11 18.00
Jos. O'Neil, wages week ending March 11 15.00
Jos. O'Neil, account wages week ending March 18 7.50

Total expenditures \$117.49

Total receipts for week \$110.65

Cash on hand March 11 26.74

Total \$137.39

Total expenditures 117.49

Balance cash on hand March 18 \$19.90

JOS. O'NEIL, Asst. Editor.

Frank Watson, Secretary I. W. W. in Duluth, Minn., sends in \$2.40 for subs. Come on, Frank, with some more.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, the president of the United States, W. Taft, has taken the authority of sending U. S. troops to the borders of Mexico, and sending the U. S. navy to nearby points, with a view of showing interference, and,

Whereas, the said troops are under orders of the war department and ready to suppress the present revolution (or invade) Mexico, and,

Whereas, the said revolution existing in Mexico is for the purpose of abolishing chattel slavery and to reform the present capitalist government and is consequently justified,

Therefore, be it resolved, that we condemn the action of the said W. Taft, president of this United States, and further protest against his said action.

A. CHARTY,

Cooks' Union, Local 44.

Chairman of the meeting.

Endorsed by Local 173.

J. LEBON,

Secy. Local 173, I. W. W.

GET YOUR LETTERS.

There are letters here for you: Fred Parsons, Vancouver, B. C. 3; E. Van Fleet, Portersville, Cal. 1; Leo Shiffren, 1; Alfred Nelson, Minneapolis 2; James Train, Vancouver, B. C. 2; Wm. Metcalfe, Oakdale, Oregon, 1; Van Dearth, Portland, Ore., 2; William J. Walsh, Chicago, Ill., 2.

Notify No. 66 of your present address, to which these letters will be promptly sent.
Fresno Local 66, Box 209, Fresno, Cal.

SABOTAGE.

One of the most ingenious acts of revenge ever perpetrated has just come to light. When the engineers in charge of the great tunnel that the German government is constructing through the Black Forest mountains were about to complete the connecting bore they found to their astonishment that the two sections which were begun simultaneously from the north and south, instead of meeting in the center, were as much as twenty-six feet apart. It is supposed that this costly mistake was caused by an Italian laborer who, having a grievance against the contractors, altered the position of a row of stakes. The northern half of the tunnel will now have to be resurveyed entirely, while an expensive series of supports will be required to sustain the framework already built but now useless. The expense is estimated at \$875,000.—Ex.

TALKS TO LABOR MEN—WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD SAYS UNIONS NEED RADICAL REORGANIZATION.

Speaking under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World, at Labor Lyceum last night, William D. Haywood, the former Western miner, declared that labor unions, in order to be thoroughly successful, must undergo radical reorganization. Strife and antagonism between the units, he declared, must be eliminated.

"The working class," Mr. Haywood asserted, "must organize into one solid body. For labor to win it is necessary to have one big union, which will take in all workers without regard to race, creed or sex."

The speaker criticized the American Federation of Labor, saying it has never won a strike in its history.

"It claims to be the American labor movement," he continued; "but it is really a voluntary political organization."

Haywood made reference to his arrest and trial in Idaho several years ago with Moyer and Pettibone on charges of conspiracy. He said that it was then that the working people stood together for the first time. He added that the three owed their lives to the working men because of their agitations in their behalf.

—"Philadelphia Inquirer."

TALK IT EVERYWHERE.

Don't talk anything but the eight-hour work day for the next year and we will accomplish the task of shortening the work day, shortening the bread lines and make life a little bit like wanting to stick around on this old earth. So long as some are in slavery no one that is imbued with a love for humanity can have freedom. Those who wish freedom and luxury at the expense of others' misery are despots and degenerates and have no standing among men and women that are battling for the rights of all.

Boosters' Brigade



J. W. Bluett sends \$1.50 for subs and donations of \$4.50 from the reds of Butte. Some more of them bad miners that won't love the boss.

F. B. Earnshaw sends in \$1.00 for subs and 50c for a bundle of No. 103 to be used in Covina, Calif. Says 103 is a "peach." Get the big May Day special.

F. G. Peterson, the Secretary of the I. W. W. in Los Angeles, sends in \$1.50 for combination sub., 75c goes to "Solidarity."

The following fellow workers have sent in for \$3.00 worth of prepaid subs cards: B. Saffores, San Francisco, Calif.; O. Bouchard, McKenna, Wash.; Arthur Appelo, Shelton, Wash., and Martin Olson, Clarks Fork Idaho. These fellow workers are doing fine work, in flooding their district with "Industrial Workers." Let others do likewise.

H. C. Herrington sends in \$1.00 from Amboy, Wash., for a sub.

Douglas D. Richie sends in \$3.00 from Austin, Nev., for three yearly subs. How do you like that, Mr. Tired One?

R. G. Noble sends in \$1.50 for subs from Butte, Mont. Noble is an old rustler for the "Worker." We ought to capture Butte soon.

John M. Foss, secretary No. 380, send in \$1.50 for subs from Tacoma. Send in more, John. We like em.

General Secretary St. John sends for a sub from the Windy City. Our secretary don't get much time to hustle for subs. Office work takes up his time.

J. H. Reynolds sends in for a combination sub. Reynolds is a live secretary for his union and the loggers are growing. All loggers should boost the "Worker."

Thomas Whitehead sends in \$1.00 for subs from Seattle. Tom is a steady grinder for the papers.

Carl Shiedt sends in 50c for a sub from Kenneth, Calif., pays in advance for his bundle order and orders it increased from 10 to 20. That's going some for one man.

J. Lebon, secretary 173, San Francisco, sends in \$2.00 for subs and \$2.50 donation from the local to help lift the deficit.

Frank Neary sends in \$3.00 for subs from Bothel, Wash., also \$2.00 donation. We thought Frank was dead. Dig them up, Frank. Frank is an old time fighter for the union movement.

F. H. Alexander sends in \$1.00 for a sub from Omaha, Neb. Things are picking up in Omaha.

James J. Stark sends in \$2.45 for prepaid cards from Northome, Minn. Go after them, Jim. Jim is trying to start a local at International Falls. Success attend your efforts, Jim.

C. R. Sechrist sends in \$1.00 donation to the deficit from Superior, Mont. Thanks.

E. B. Kellington donates \$1.00 towards the "Worker." Money is sent through Thomas Whitehead.

Sacramento has sent for the charter and 10 more applications have been received since charter has been sent for. Sacramento orders 300 papers a week. Looks like a big local in Sacramento.

Boost for the Big May Day edition. Order early so that we will know how many to have printed.

The best writers in America will write for the May Day edition. Boost the May Day edition.

WANTED.

The management of the "Industrial Worker" requests that all the free speech fighters would now fight to wipe out the deficit on the "Industrial Worker." This will not take as much energy as whipping the city of Fresno, but what it does take will be energy well spent. Go after the deficit and add another victory to your credit. The "Worker" is meeting all current obligations, but before we can launch out with our own machinery we will have to wipe out the old debts. All together now.—Editor.

To Help Us Grow

For Three Dollars Four Sub Cards

If you are interested in spreading the propaganda of Industrial Unionism; if you wish to see The Industrial Worker grow; purchase four yearly subscription cards for three dollars. If you are not a subscriber, sell three of the cards at a dollar apiece, and you will have your own subscription free. If you are already a subscriber, sell the four cards, which will net you one dollar, or 25 per cent commission.

*We Must Have the Subs
Lend Us a Hand*

I. W. W. Song Books

10c each, \$5.00 per hundred, \$35.00 per thousand.
Cash must accompany all orders.
R. Brazier, Sec. Joint Locals, 518, Main Ave. (rear), Spokane, Wash.

INDUSTRIAL UNION LEAFLETS.

"Two Kinds of Unionism," by Edward Hammond.
"Union Scabs and Others," by Oscar Ameringer.
"Getting Recognition," by A. M. Stinton.
4 page leaflets, 20c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000.
"Eleven Blind Leaders," by B. H. Williams.
32 page pamphlet. Price, 5c.
Pamphlets in Foreign Languages—"Why Strikes Are Lost," by W. E. Trautmann, in Lithuanian. Price, 10 cents a copy; 25 per cent off on orders of 100 or more. In Italian—"Report of the I. W. W. to Paris International Congress."

STICKERS! PASTE 'EM!

50 cents per thousand.

REMEMBER JAMES KELLY COLE.

A book has been printed which contains some of the writings and poems of James Kelly Cole. It is an 85-page book. Single copy, 25c; discount to Locals.
Address VINCENT ST. JOHN,
518 Cambridge Bldg., 55 5th Ave., Chicago.

"Solidarity"

A weekly revolutionary working class paper, published by the Local Unions of New Castle, Pa.
Yearly..... \$2.00
Six Months..... \$1.00
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Bundle Orders, per copy..... .01
Address all communications for publication to B. H. WILLIAMS, Editor; all remittances to the manager, C. H. MCCARTHY.
Address P. O. Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

The Industrial Union

Published Weekly by the
Industrial Workers of Phoenix, Ariz.
An Exponent of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, Printed in Spanish.
Subscription, \$1.00 per Year; 50c 6 Months.
Address 312 E. Buchanan St., Phoenix, Ariz.

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Official Organ of the
POLISH LOCALS OF THE I. W. W.
Published at
1469 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.
\$1.00 A YEAR.
Make remittances payable to B. Schrager, Editor.

L'Emancipation

Official Organ of the Franco-Belgium Federation, I. W. W.
AUG. DETOLLENAERE.
9 Mason Street. Lawrence, Mass.

The Agitator

A Worker's Semi-Monthly

Advocate of the Modern School
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND
INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Yearly, \$1 Quarterly, 25c. Sample Free
JAY FOX, Editor
Lakebay, Washington

"La Vie Ouvriere"

Bi-Monthly Syndicalist Review

Appearing the 5th and 20th of each month.
Subscription Rates:
Foreign, 1 year, \$2.50; 6 months, \$1.25; 3 months, 75c.
Address all correspondence to Pierre Monat, Editor, 94 Quai Jemmapes, Paris.

FAMOUS SPEECHES.

Fourth edition of 8000 in six months of the RIGHT CHICAGO ANARCHISTS in reply to why sentences of death should not be passed upon them. Delivered IN COURT October 7, 8 and 9, 1886. If you wish to be informed upon the great eight-hour strike of May 1, 1886, the historic Haymarket meeting, the anarchist trial, read these speeches. They are the "classics" of the early labor movement by its organizers. One hundred and twenty-two Octavo pages, containing splendid photos of the eight men, taken just before they were murdered. Also picture of monument above their grave. Price 30 cents. Good commission to agents.

LUCY E. PARSONS, Publisher.
1000 S. Paulina St., Chicago Ill.

Foster Replies

(Continued from Page One.)

years after the creation of the first Bourse, says (2): "The Bourses du Travail, which unite the syndicates without any consideration of politics are poorly viewed by the Socialist deputies; it is rather curious to note that there are no institutions of this character at Calais, Roubaix or Lille"(3). Doubtless the Socialists so busy were "preparing the ground" for the "New Union" that they had no time to found Bourses.

FORMATION OF THE C. G. T.

The Bourses, in spite of the Socialist "protection," rapidly increased in number and importance, and in 1892 they organized themselves nationally into the Federation of Bourses. This made two national labor organizations; the older National Federation of Syndicates, which grouped indiscriminately syndicates and federations (national trades unions) still functioning. The Federation of Bourses, one wing of the movement, was revolutionary and autonomous towards political action. The National Federation of Syndicates, the other wing, was under the "protection" of the Guesdist Socialist Party. To combine these two rival organizations was absolutely necessary to the development of the labor movement. It occupied several years of the direct actionists' best efforts. They finally accomplished it by holding the national congress of Bourses at the same time and town as the holding of the congress of the National Federation of Syndicates and fairly stealing this organization from the Socialist dictator, Guesde. (4). The following year, 1905, the two organizations were merged, and the C. G. T. was formed. This marked the definite rupture of the labor and political Socialist movements.

Henceforth the Socialist Parties were forced to shower their blessings on the labor movement from a distance.

HAND IN HAND.

The two movements gradually drifted apart. The working class organizations began to suspect the motives of the politicians and to fight decidedly shy of them.

In 1899 the various Socialist Parties held a general congress—preliminary to their unification in 1905. Of this affair Bernard Pelloutier, secretary of Federation of Bourses, one of the founders of Syndicalism, says (5): "The chief characteristic of the Socialist congress is the total absence of the workers' syndicates. This absence struck everybody. And I, myself, although knowing the horror the syndicates have for a long time professed in regard to the political sects, was surprised at the small number of them there was at this first general congress of the Socialist 'Party.'" Later on, speaking of the syndicates, he says: "At present our position in the Socialist world is this: Proscribed from the Socialist Party because, not less revolutionary than Vaillant or Guesde, nor less resolutely partisans of the suppression of private property, we are in addition what they are not—rebels of every hour, men truly without a God, master or country, the irreconcilable enemies of all despotism, moral or material, individual or collective."

These statements, emanating from such a high authority as Pelloutier, may be taken as fairly indicative of the friendly relations existing between the multi-colored Socialist Parties and the struggling labor organizations during this period.

DEVELOPMENTS OF SYNDICALISM.

In 1899, as a result of the Dreyfus affair, the French Socialists secured much political power and Millerand became minister of commerce in Waldeck-Rousseau's ministry. The frightened (?) capitalist class and expectant working class anxiously awaited the beginning of the long-talked of revolution. Millerand answered these expectations by handing the workers a large lemon. By DECREE he established the "Superior Labor Council," an "advisory body with great moral influence on labor legislation." It is composed of 66 members—22 workers, 22 employers and 22 OTHER PERSONS. It is needless to comment on the merits of this French Civic Federation. In this layout Jean Jaures was one of the "other persons." Millerand delivered himself of many other "social peace" schemes of similar character. He was soon joined in the ministry by Briand and Viviani, and between the three they have kept up the lemon diet for the workers for 10 years, varying it from Briand's soldier sick to Viviani's famous old age "pensions for the dead." The Socialist deputies have also kept up the good work. They have interpreted "the class struggle" as "the collaboration of the classes," having fused first with one party and then another as opportunity dictated.

The disappointment and astonishment of all but a few of the militant workers at these events was intense. They found themselves in their syndicates forced to vigorously fight

the "Social Peace" schemes of "their" Socialist representatives, the acceptance of which would have stripped their organizations of their power. Hitherto their difficulties with the politicians had been largely due to the efforts of the various "sects" to secure dominion over the syndicates, a national situation, so it seemed. But now that the Socialists were in power and they showed a distinct hostility towards the direct action organizations it put the master in a different light. The theory of political action came in for a serious investigation, and largely as a result of this investigation has come the new Syndicalist movement, with its own plan of working class tactics, which is violently antagonistic to that of the Socialist movement.

SOCIALISM VS. SYNDICALISM.

The Socialist program, only thinly disguised by Mr. La Monte, divides working class activity into two fields—economic and political. The labor unions operate in the one, the S. P. in the other. This division is arbitrary, however, as all social questions have economic bases. The political and economic "fields" overlap each other; they are the one "field"—the economic. The labor unions in Socialist program therefore have to differentiate between the Socialist so-called "political" and "economic" questions. They must confine themselves to the latter, leaving the former to the care of the S. P. They must pursue a course of "hands off" in regard to the questions that the S. P. considers "political" in nature. It would be manifestly absurd for the working class direct action organizations to FIGHT AGAINST on the economic field what the political organization has FOUGHT FOR on the "political" field. (6) Hence the labor unions should be subordinate to the political party and accept the freak laws, social peace schemes, etc., that it secures from the government. Governmental interference in strikes is also a matter for the political party to handle, not the labor unions. Victor Griffuelhes, ex-secretary of the C. G. T., states the Socialist roles for working class organizations: they must be "Adversaries of the government on the political field, servants of the government on the economic field." (7)

The Syndicalist movement, to the contrary, recognizes but one "field" of working class activity—the economic; only one kind of social question—the economic. To solve these economic questions it uses, in all cases, direct action tactics alone. It forces the state to pass laws in the same manner as it forces a private employer to raise wages, or to better working conditions—by strikes, sabotage, boycotts, etc. And not only does Syndicalism feel perfectly sure of its ability to force the state and private employers to grant concessions by its direct action tactics, but—if we are to believe its best writers—it also intends to overthrow the whole capitalist system by the supreme application of direct action, i. e., the general strike. It makes absolutely no provision for the conquest of the political power by "penetration," but aims to overthrow present society completely ending some great labor crisis, and to substitute its own institutions in place of those that have been overthrown.

For Syndicalism to accept the Socialist "double action" theory, entailing the subordination of the economic to the political organization would render it incapable of fighting its most powerful enemy—the government, which is not only by far the greatest employer in France, but also a highly developed strike-breaking machine for the whole capitalist class. Not for a moment is Syndicalism willing to leave this great enemy to the care of the politicians. Experience has taught it that these intermediaries serve only to obscure the outlines of the class struggle, and to act as a shield, not for the workers, but for the government. Syndicalism recognizes in the state its most insidious as well as powerful enemy and rejects all participation in it. Its attitude towards the state is well stated by Victor Griffuelhes: "Adversaries of the state and all its institutions from a 'political' point of view, adversaries of the state and all its institutions from an economic point of view." (8)

The all-class Socialist movement is statist, the working class Syndicalist movement is anti-statist—the one advocates working class conquest of the state by political action and the submission to its decrees—the other, abstention from participation in the state and revolt against its arbitrary laws. The one considers the state as a possible working class friend; the other, as an inveterate enemy. The two movements cannot exist in harmony; they are trying to absorb each other. Syndicalism claims itself as self-sufficient; Socialism says it needs a guardian and helper—a political "shield." It tries to force the guardianship on the unwilling Syndicalism. A Socialist success is a Syndicalist defeat and vice versa. The two movements are competitors for the undivided support of the working class. There can be no co-operation between them; they must fight to a finish.

It is true that the S. P. officially indorses the economic organization, and even advises its working class members to join them and that the C. G. T.—true to its function as an economic organization—is neutral towards all political parties, but these are only diplomatic pretenses. Their real sentiments are evidenced by the continual guerilla warfare being waged between the militants of the two organizations. "But," the unsophisticated American Socialist will say: "Why this warfare? If political action is incompatible with the interests of the working class, why not abandon it and adopt direct action tactics entirely—cut out the S. P. and build up the C. G. T.?"

THE "NIGGER" IN THE WOODPILE.

The answer is simple: The French workers are "seeking salvation;" they have very

hazy ideas of the nature of capitalist governments; they are also gullible and in addition have universal suffrage. A good combination for the ambitious Socialist lawyer, doctor or shop keeper to work on, and the prize is worth while; the French government being particularly rich in "snaps," not to mention the vast amount of patronage and "graft" or the innumerable judgeships, mayorships, post-masterships etc. There are some 1000 positions as deputies and senators at \$3000 per year to be had for the asking—provided it is done skillfully enough.

On the other hand the C. G. T., the direct action organization, offers no inducements to the horde of Socialist intellectuals—who, in the majority of cases not being workers, are not even entitled to membership in it. It has but three regularly paid officers who each receive \$50 per month. Its component organizations are as sparingly officered. There are no soft berths in the direct action movement for the unemployed Intellectuals.

These intellectuals have no economic interests in common with the workers. They are not forced to help them build up powerful fighting organizations in order that their own condition may be improved. Their interest lies in building up a strong political organization in order to more successfully "penetrate" the government. The nature of their program demands the support of the working class. The Syndicalist movement, by demonstrating its own self-sufficiency and showing the fallacy and uselessness of political action, pulls working class support from the Socialist movement and is a distinct menace to the latter. The politicians, seeing their lucrative profession thus menaced, consider the Syndicalist movement a legitimate object for attack. Hence the continual warfare between the two movements. French railroad history, like that of other industries, is a series of battles between Socialists and Syndicalists. A few citations from it may be instructive.

"BRIAND, ROTHSCHILD & CO."

In 1896 the Rothschilds—the French railroad kings—got into the labor movement. Through an intermediary they bought "La Lanterne," a well-known Persian journal. Briand and Count Comand were placed in charge of it. An unholy trinity, Jew millionaire, Bonapartist count and revolutionary Socialist, operating a radical paper. Miller and Jaures, Viviani and other prominent Socialists were its principal contributors.

In 1898 Rothschild's railroad slaves threatened to strike. "Friday" Briand hastily resigned his editorial position in order to lead them to victory. A brilliant talker and writer, he soon found himself at the head of the agitation. He advocated the general strike and organized the famous "Knights of Labor"—a secret organization, whose object was to destroy railroad signals, bridges, stations, etc., immediately after the strike was declared. He became the comitant of Guérard, the Socialist dictator of the railroad unions. The strike date was set and Briand "squealed." The government was fully prepared for the strike. No sooner was it declared than Briand announced, through "La Lanterne," the discovery of a great military plot to overthrow the government (during the Dreyfus affair). The S. P. immediately protested against the threatened outrage and elected a permanent vigilance committee to protect the interests of the government. In this great "crisis" the railroad strike was a danger to the republic. Guérard immediately called it off. Needless to say, the "plot" was simply a manufactured one, and never materialized. Briand had earned his seat in the ministry and the political government secured a victory. The direct action movement amongst the railroaders was given a deadly blow, and for 10 years Guérard's domesticated union protested via political channels. It became a common saying that the railroaders would never strike again.

THE RECENT RAILROAD STRIKE.

In 1909 Guérard was forced to resign, and shortly afterward the railroad slaves began to stir again. They threatened to strike if their long deferred demands were not granted. This agitation was the work of the famous "Syndicalist minority." The agitation rapidly grew and a general strike on all the railroads was planned.

On October 8, before the strike plans were fully developed, the strike burst out spontaneously, and in two days two systems were completely tied up. A general strike on all the roads in France was then called. The key to the situation was the big East railroad system—the unions of which were under the thumb of their general secretary, Niel, ex-secretary of the C. G. T. If this road could be induced to strike, the strike would undoubtedly be a success, if not failure was certain. The other four roads still at work waited to see what the East railroad was going to do. Niel, the Socialist dictator, became the man of the hour; he had it in his power to give Europe one of the greatest strikes it had ever known.

The C. G. T. congress at Toulouse had just ended (October 10). The Socialists, led by Niel, had suffered a complete defeat at the hands of the Syndicalists. The opportunity for revenge presented itself, and Niel, instead of hastening to Paris and doing all in his power to swing the East railroad into line, remained in the South of France, and sent a long telegram to "Le Matin"—a widely read capitalist paper—criticizing the strike as premature and stating that it would not (he meant "should not") be a general one until the strike order had reached every group or local. This, although every paper in France had published the order. His lieutenants on the East railroad took the hint and awaited the arrival of the official strike order. The strike committee at Paris, not being able to trust either the mails or telegraph, sent messengers all over France with copies. Briand had also taken Niel's tip, however, and

arrested these messengers. The result was a grand confusion many of the unions got no orders, others waited to hear from the rest of the unions, etc. The psychological "moment" slipped away. Briand's mobilization order arrived and the Socialist East railroad, numbering 70 per cent of union men—by far the highest of the railroads in France—remained at work and hauled soldier scabs to break the strike in the other roads. The failure of the East railroad to strike undoubtedly caused the loss of the strike.

Niel's telegram was a master stroke, but it was not the only Socialist factor in the loss of the strike. The committee, largely Socialist, using practically as headquarters the office of "L'Humanite"—the official organ of the S. P.—were surrounded and dominated by Socialist politicians openly hostile to the strike. The necessary vigorous action—even had it been wished—was absolutely impossible under these circumstances. (9) Their inertia also contributed greatly to the disaster.

On the warfare between the Socialists and Syndicalists the loss of this great strike marked an important surface victory for the former. Direct action tactics were discredited and 3300 militant Syndicalists discharged from the strategic railroad industry, thus leaving it once more in almost complete control of the Socialists.

The Socialist delegation in the Chamber of Deputies was also given much free advertising by its spectacular defense of the railroaders' right to strike, its criticisms of Briand's tyrannical measures, its pleading for the reinstatement of the discharged railroaders, etc. The railroaders may be expected—for at least a time—to once again protest through political channels.

The real victory, however, in spite of appearances, is on the side of the Syndicalists. They have one more proof that the Socialist movement, like all other political movements, holds its own interest to be superior to that of the working class and that it is distinctly hostile to the direct action movement. It has once again shown its "cloven feet." The object lesson will be of incalculable value in the propaganda of the purely direct action idea. The displaced Syndicalist railroader will soon be replaced by others of an even more virile type.

Mr. La Monte's citation of French labor history, in order to lend weight to his theory of combined working class economic and political action, is without value. Such co-operation does not exist now in France, nor has it in the past.

Whether it was recognized or not, the two movements have always been opposed to each other, as the foregoing incidents demonstrate. The most prominent features of the "New Unionism," that Mr. La Monte extols so much, are its growing consciousness of this opposition, and its rejection of all political action.

As for the I. W. W.—the American Syndicalist organization—its militants, who are imbued with the real Syndicalist theories, will do their best to prevent the S. P. from "protecting" or "preparing the ground for" their organization. They will insist on a policy of strict official neutrality towards all political parties, and as individuals they will vigorously combat the political action theory, be it advocated by the S. P. or any other "party."

Yours for the Revolution.

W. Z. FOSTER.

Paris, January 24th, 1911.

WAITING.

Like something carved in changeless stone, she waits

Outside the city's barred and locked gates.
The men who foot the road, pass idly by,
Nor deign to turn upon her form an eye.

In painted face and borrowed trappings, fair,
Black falsehood leers, and laughs upon her there;

And murmurs glad, "Nay, none shall know her none:
For all their gold, well I my work have done.

The generations rise, and pause, and go;
And still the stream of life flows to and fro.
Unmoving, mighty, still her figure stands,
With vast, calm brow, and patient folded hands.

'Tis Freedom, the great mother. She is strong;
And long can wait, for she has waited long.
There is the light of knowledge in her look:
She reads the future, as an open book.

She knows, how'er their wills the tyrants wreak,
That slow their power from day to day grows weak;

That slow the people learn to feel the lie
Breathed down to them from those who sit on high.

She knows power's ruthless hand in deeds of ill,
The hand which robs the people, and can kill.
She knows when men at last shall bid it pause:
She knows when they shall break the lawless laws.

Sometime, or near or far, the gates within,
A cry shall rise of dissolution's din;
And those who scorn her now, will come and plead:
"We knew thee not; thou art our leader. Lead!"

Then that grand shape shall move; and when the last
The slave's linked chains from off his arms has cast,
She shall be seen there at the leader's post,
Before the throng, the head of all the host.

Until that hour she looks, and keeps her peace.
While all around the turmoil doth not cease,
She feels not passion nor the touch of hate
Her work inscribed upon the rolls of fate.
—William Francis Barnard in "The Agitator."